PIERCING THE FOG:
Irregular Forces as a Source
of Operational Intelligence

A Monograph
by

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United States Air Force

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    USAF, 48 pages.

This monograph examines the employment of irregular forces as
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methods are the primary (and sometimes the only) source of
operational intelligence. Irregular forces, locally
recruited paramilitary groups indigenous to the targeted
region, can provide valuable augmentation to the usual
sources of intelligence.

The goal of intelligence at the operational level of war is
to discern the enemy commander's intentions. In other words,
getting inside the opposing commander's mind in order to
reduce the uncertainty and thus the element of chance
inherent in all campaign planning. Reducing uncertainty is
one way for the commander to better assess the risk in his
campaign and thereby plan alternative operational methods to
address any shortfalls in capability or mission. The
Ends-Ways-Means model provides the criteria for evaluating a
commander's risk in this monograph.

The monograph uses General George Crook's 1880s campaign
to pacify the Chiricahua Apaches and the prelude to General
Douglas MacArthur's liberation of the Philippines in 1943 as
case studies to evaluate theory in light of the Ends-Ways-
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providing the qualitative assessments necessary to discover
enemy intentions and reduce the uncertainty in the
commander's decision-making process.

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INTRODUCTION

> Native spies are those from the enemy's country people
> whom we employ.
>
> Sun Tzu[1]

> Kuwait's underground resistance fighters told
> astonishing stories of their high-tech, low-profile
> war against Iraqi occupation. Among their exploits:
> sending maps of Iraqi position to the allies by
> facsimile machines. US military commanders in Saudi
> Arabia recently praised the resistance for the
> valuable information it obtained both before and
> during the war.[2]

At the operational level of war, the goal of
intelligence is to discover and preempt enemy intentions.[3]
The reason for the effort is to reduce the operational
commander's uncertainty.[4] This chore is difficult but
necessary as each commander seeks an advantage over his
opponent. Assessing the moral dimensions of battle--
morale, discipline, training and readiness--helps create a
truer rendition of the opposing force's capabilities.
Knowing the personality of the enemy commander and the
internal dynamics, strengths, and weaknesses of his staff
also contribute to determining enemy intentions. How many
of the Allies' military actions during Operation Desert
Storm would have been different if we had truly known what
Saddam Hussein intended?

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Who would have guessed that once the ground campaign began during Operation Desert Storm, the enemy would capitulate after only four days? This was not the conventional wisdom prior to the start of the ground war. The Iraqi army was touted as one of the better Soviet surrogates--battle hardened after eight years of war against Iran, and a fanatically loyal Republican Guard reputedly able to conduct mobile armored warfare on the Soviet model. Although final reports have not been compiled and published, was the Allies' overestimation of Iraqi capability an intelligence failure or a clever deception to lure Saddam Hussein into a false sense of security? Either way, operational commanders must have a variety of intelligence tools to pierce the fog of war and discern the enemy commander's intentions. Irregular forces operating in the enemy rear can be one of those tools.

This monograph contends that irregular forces, locally recruited indigenous groups who are not members of an organized military or police unit, can be a valuable source of operational intelligence. Using such forces to gather intelligence is not a new concept for the US military. During the American Indian Wars, both before and after the Civil War, the Army made extensive use of other Indians to gather and interpret intelligence on the tribes it was trying to control. During the Second World War, the Army also used local inhabitants to provide quantitative data and qualitative assessments of enemy strength in all the

theaters of operation. There are many other examples throughout US history of irregular forces such as these providing the types of information unavailable to sensors which "see" vehicles and "listen" to electronic transmissions. First, though, one must define intelligence and how it is applied at the operational level of war.

The noted Prussian military theorist, Carl von Clausewitz, defined intelligence as every sort of information about the enemy and his country and the basis of friendly plans and operations.[5] JCS Publication 1-02, Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms, on the other hand, defines intelligence as the "product resulting from the collection, processing, integration, analysis, evaluation, and interpretation of available information concerning foreign countries or areas.[6] Like Clausewitz's definition, this one is equally broad and somewhat vague. The operational intelligence addressed by this paper is much more focused than suggested by Clausewitz or the JCS Pub.

Current and emerging doctrine notes that operational intelligence, while embracing many elements of tactical and strategic intelligence, is much broader in scope (See Fig 1). Operational intelligence ranges from what many consider to be tactical intelligence, enemy order of battle for example, through the types of data normally associated with strategic intelligence, such as political, economic, and social information.[7] Finally, intelligence at the

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operational level of war is intended to be more predictive and anticipatory than either tactical or strategic intelligence.[*]
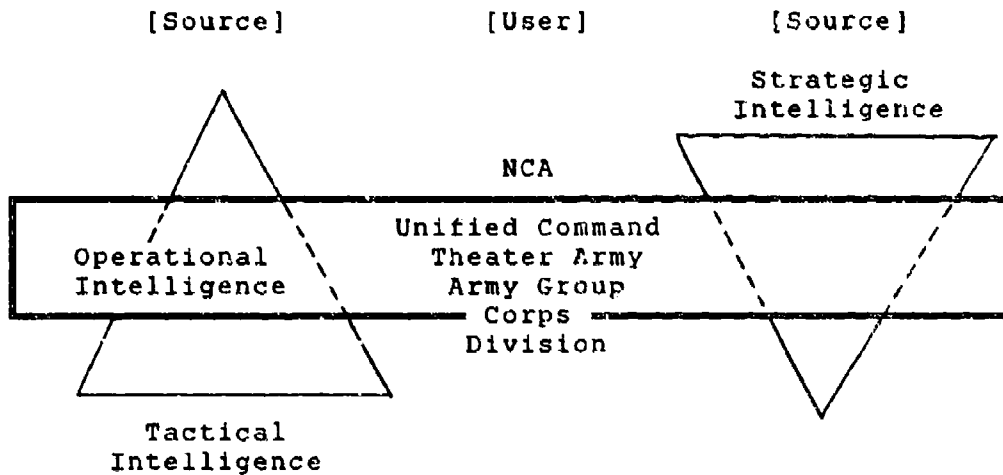

Figure 1.[9]

The commander of the US Army Intelligence Center suggests that operational intelligence is that which is required to realize strategic goals within a theater of war. He also says that the focus of the operational intelligence effort is to identify strategic and operational centers of gravity.[10] TRADOC Pamphlet 11-9, Blueprint of the Battlefield, shifts the emphasis slightly and says that operational intelligence identifies those decisive points which affect strategic aims. Blueprint of the Battlefield goes on to say, though, that intelligence at the operational level of war must probe the mind of the enemy commander.[11] Richard Simpkin, in his book Race to

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the Swift, defined operational level intelligence as that which discovers the "mind of the commander," his war aims and intentions.[12]

None of these definitions, from Clausewitz to present, are mutually exclusive--yet none completely describe operational intelligence. Perhaps Clayton Newell best sums up the essence and role of operational intelligence when he calls it "personal intelligence," or that information which discerns enemy intentions.[13] Much of the subjective and qualitative information concerning enemy moral factors needed to probe the mind of the enemy commander is only available to someone living and working among the enemy. The "fuzzy" nature and inherent ambiguity of the moral elements makes it difficult to collect, identify, and analyze such information with technical means. Irregular forces, being indigenous and living with and among the opponent's forces in a Theater of War or Operations, are able to collect the intangible data which makes up so much of operational intelligence.

This monograph will examine how the operational commander might utilize irregular forces to augment and/or enhance his technical means of collection and analysis. It will examine the unique ability of irregular forces to provide qualitative data concerning the enemy's moral domain, specifically those training, discipline, readiness, morale, and staff dynamics issues which play so heavily in the operational commander's decision-making process.

Friendly irregulars living in and among the enemy know when social and military conditions are changing--their information can play an important role in the friendly commander's decision processes as he sequences military operations. As the Commander of the US Army Intelligence Center said, "The value of good human intelligence (HUMINT) . . . cannot be overstated."[14] Properly employed irregular forces are a possible source for this valuable human intelligence.

I will use the following methodology to examine the value of irregular forces as a source of intelligence for the operational ommander. The monograph begins by discussing the theory of irregular warfare. Mao Zedong, Clausewitz, T. E. Lawrence, Roger Trinquier, and Sun Tzu all wrote about the employment of irregular forces. Section Two summarizes their thoughts on the proper employment of irregulars and establishes a theoretical and doctrinal basis for employing irregular forces in support of conventional campaigns. Next, the paper presents two case studies where irregular forces were used with great success to provide operational intelligence to the operational commander. Both examples, General George Crook's 1880s campaign against the Chiricahua Apaches and General Douglas MacArthur's use of Filipino guerrillas to aid his 1943 liberation of the Philippine Islands, offer today's officers an opportunity to glean some enduring lessons that might be applied to modern day operations.

Section Four looks at how irregular forces might serve as
an adjunct to technical means of collection and provide a
human element to the collection and analysis process.
Lastly, the paper concludes by suggesting how one might
employ irregular forces to obtain the operational
intelligence necessary to facilitate present and future
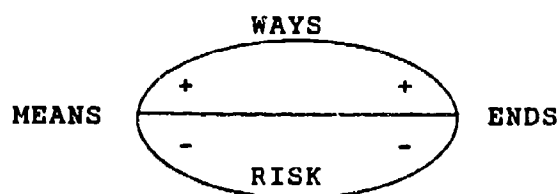operations.

WAYS

MEANS   ENDS

RISK

Figure 2.

The criteria to measure the success of this proposal
will be the Ends-Ways-Means model (Fig 2). Every well
thought out plan has to balance the ends, ways, and means
to determine the amount of risk involved. This risk
assessment helps the operational commander assess his
chances for success.[15] The operational commander can
accept, change, or reject the campaign plan based upon his
determination of the risk involved. One way he can change
the level of risk is by adjusting the operational means
employed. If one accepts the earlier premise that the
purpose of operational intelligence is to reduce
uncertainty for the operational commander, then operational
intelligence is one means available to shift the

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Ends-Ways-Means model to the friendly operational commander's favor.

This study will only examine the use of irregular forces as a source of operational intelligence. Historically, irregulars have also been employed as internal security forces, raiders, and to conduct deep operations in support of conventional campaigns. These other missions, however, are beyond the scope of this monograph. First, let's begin by examining the theoretical use of irregular forces and their relationship to operational intelligence and conventional campaigns.

IRREGULAR WARFARE and OPERATIONAL ART

> . . . regular warfare is primary and (irregular) warfare is supplementary.[16]
>
> Mao Zedong

This section begins by defining and discussing the theoretical value of irregular forces. It concludes by showing the linkage between regular and irregular forces at the operational level of war.

JCS Publication 1-02, defines irregular forces as armed individuals or groups who are not members of the regular armed forces or police--in other words, locally recruited, armed, and trained paramilitary groups, such as guerrillas or partisans.[17] Insurgents might include

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irregular forces, however insurgents can also include conventional forces and terrorists insurgents and irregular forces are not synonymous terms.

The theoretical works and historical experiences of Clausewitz, Mao Zedong, T.E. Lawrence, and Roger Trinquier support our current doctrinal notion that irregulars can be powerful auxiliaries to conventional forces. More importantly, though, they support the notion that irregular forces are rarely decisive in their own right.

Thomas Dempsey, in an article published in Defense Analysis on the use of irregular forces, says there are four ways irregulars are typically used to augment conventional campaigns.[18] Irregular forces are most famous for conducting deep attacks in support of conventional operations, as T.E. Lawrence and the Bedouins aided General Allenby's First World War Palestine campaign or as Orde Wingate and the Chindits supported General Slim in Burma during World War Two. Also, irregulars can provide internal or rear area security as they did during the Malayan Insurgency and the American experience in Vietnam. Raiding, as during the American Civil War for example, is another form of irregular warfare. Lastly, irregular forces have been used to provide intelligence in support of conventional campaigns.

Mao Zedong is usually considered the premier theorist of irregular warfare. From his perspective, all wars are a combination of regular and irregular forces. Regular

forces, he said were required to achieve quick, decisive
results. Irregulars or guerrillas, on the other hand,
while not decisive did involve the support of the masses
and therefore strengthened the foundation of one opponent's
power.[19] In regards to operational intelligence, Mao
noted that because irregulars worked and lived among the
people; they enjoyed certain advantages over their
conventional opponents. For example, their dependence upon
the support of the local population for survival forced the
irregulars to cultivate and maintain a local information
network to fulfill their intelligence needs.[20] Lastly,
the extensive knowledge of local climate, terrain, and
social customs and infrastructure gave them a decided
advantage over regular forces operating in the same area.
Mao, with the typical Chinese penchant for explaining
themselves with analogies from nature, compared the
peoples' support of irregular forces as the sea is to a
fish--they are the medium which protects and sustains
irregular forces.

A classical theorist, Carl von Clausewitz, on the
other hand, did not like irregular forces. He felt that
"people's war" was legalized anarchy--as much a threat to
the social order at home as it was to the enemy.[21] This
attitude is understandable given his upbringing and
education in an established 18th Century family and his
observations of Napoleon's disastrous campaign of 1814 in
Spain. There, The Duke of Wellington's British and Spanish

armies exhausted the French forces under Marshall Massena
by avoiding decisive battle and encouraging Spanish
guerrillas to disrupt French logistics and command and
control. Clausewitz realized, though, there were some
times when a nation might choose to employ irregulars.
Because he also held a dim view of intelligence, Clausewitz
never seemed to appreciate the irregulars' ability to
assist the operational commander as a source of
information.[22] To him, their sole purpose was to harass
conventional forces and deny whole sections of a country to
an invader. This way the enemy would expend energy
"striking at air" and the irregulars did not have to engage
the main forces in decisive battle.[23]

A hundred years later, T.E. Lawrence was formulating
his theories of irregular warfare in the deserts of Arabia
and Palestine. Like Clausewitz, Lawrence recognized the
inherent weakness of irregular forces--they were rarely
successful when attacking defended positions and they were
unlikely to stay and defend a static position against a
determined opponent. But Lawrence also saw that in certain
situations, irregulars had a decided advantage. In the
open expanse of the Arabian Peninsula, an alien invader was
probably too small to occupy the entire country, thus
leaving vast tracts free for the irregular forces to live
in and control. Also, the irregular's extensive knowledge
of local terrain, climate, and culture give him a mobility,
sustainment, and endurance advantage. Lawrence suggested

that given mobility, security, time, and the proper
doctrine, the overall advantage lay with the irregulars.[24]
While this may have been true in Lawrence's unique case,
Mao and others would counter by reiterating that irregulars
can effectively augment a campaign but are rarely decisive.

Lawrence's doctrine in Palestine and the Arabian
Peninsula was to never afford a target, seeking neither the
enemy's strength nor his weakness. The key to executing
this doctrine successfully was what Lawrence called
"perfect intelligence." The focus of the irregulars'
intelligence effort was the opposing "general's head".[25]
Specifically, the irregular forces' primary intelligence
requirement was to discover the opposing commander's
intentions. This way, the irregulars could strike where
the enemy was weak, avoid enemy main efforts, and exploit
enemy vulnerabilities.

This "avoidance" doctrine applied to all operations by
irregular forces. By utilizing superior intelligence to
avoid engagements, Lawrence's irregular forces retained the
initiative and were never on the tactical defensive except
through accident or miscalculation. Lawrence, like Mao,
found that by drawing his irregular forces from the local
population he had an established information network and
thus an exploitable intelligence advantage over his
opponents. Lawrence was able to convert that advantage

into tactical success by avoiding battle with strong Turkish units and keeping Turkish forces effectively pinned down in their desert strongholds.

A post-World War II theorist, Roger Trinquier, in his book Modern Warfare, observed that the advantages of terrain and a supportive population accrued to irregular forces. Like Lawrence, Trinquier stressed the importance of intelligence at both the tactical and operational levels. He noted that by remaining detached from the enemy, irregulars were able to maintain constant observation of their adversaries and thus discover opponents' vulnerabilities.[26] During his experiences in both Indochina and Algeria, Trinquier effectively used indigenous irregular forces to collect and interpret the types of information he needed to anticipate and preempt the actions of opposing enemy commanders.

But how does one link irregular and regular forces to conduct major operations and campaigns? Mao Zedong, as he considered the operational level of war, also wrestled with this problem.[27] He said that during the conduct of campaigns, the actions of irregular forces must be coordinated with those of the main body. Among the many functions served by irregular forces, the key ones were to gather information on enemy strengths and weaknesses, and to expose enemy vulnerabilities. Mao acknowledged the important role of irregular forces as they disrupted the enemy rear and diverted enemy forces from the main battle,

but he needed irregulars to tap into their local
information network.

Finally, Mao said that to achieve coordinated actions
throughout a theater of operations (distributed free
maneuver?), it was absolutely necessary for the irregulars
to have radios so that they could communicate with the
regular force commanders.[28] He recognized that irregular
forces have to be tied into the operational commander's
command and control network if they are to be effective.
The necessity to orchestrate the various conventional and
irregular means at an operational commander's disposal, to
achieve a strategic or an operational end, is very much in
keeping with Mao's writings.[29] Though it is doubtful if
Mao would have recognized the term "operational art," he
likely would have understood the concept. Although the
discussion so far has concentrated on operational
intelligence as an element of the operational level of war,
before continuing, it is proper to establish a definition
of operational art.

Mr James Schneider, theoretician at the US Army's
School of Advanced Military Studies, says that the dominant
characteristic of operational art is distributed free
maneuver of forces in a theater of operations. Further,
distributed free maneuver includes a series of coordinated,
distributed battles leading up to dispersed expenditure of
combat power in space and time.[30] JCS Publication 3-0,
Doctrine for Unified and Joint Operations, on the other

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hand, defines operational art as "the employment of military forces to attain strategic or operational objectives . . ." through the conduct of campaigns and major operations.[31] The operational level of war provides the linkage between strategic goals and tactical actions. One way to accomplish this linkage is to collecting the political, geographic, moral, social, and economic information needed by an operational commander to sequence the various elements of his campaign. If one agrees with Mao, Lawrence, Schneider, and the doctrine, the operational commander must also seek to integrate irregular forces into the orchestration of his campaign plan.

Today, campaign plans are developed to phase the simultaneous and sequential operations of all forces available to the operational commander. During the campaign design process, the commander addresses all his military and other resources in order to accomplish the strategic and operational objectives--this includes any irregular forces operating in his area. Even though irregular forces are rarely decisive in their own right, they can and often have played a valuable role augmenting regular forces--especially as a source of operational intelligence. The following two case studies will show how other commanders used irregular forces to gain and exploit operational intelligence.

HISTORICAL CASE STUDIES

In his introduction to On War, Bernard Brodie says
students of war have a duty to seek the enduring lessons
from historical examples and the way other leaders
addressed their problems.[32] Similarly, others such as
Clausewitz and Mao Zedong have said that in order to wage
war successfully soldiers must prepare themselves during
peacetime. Unlike most professionals, though, soldiers
cannot regularly practice their craft or art. Studying and
using the enduring lessons of history, said Clausewitz,
provide the means for modern soldiers to learn about
war.[33] This monograph uses General George Crook's 1880s
campaign against the Chiricahua Apaches and the prelude to
General Douglas MacArthur's 1943 liberation of the
Philippines as historical case studies of irregular forces
used to gain intelligence with an operational level impact.
These two operational campaigns, as Clausewitz suggested,
offer the opportunity to evaluate theory and learn from the
experiences of past soldiers.

In the last few years, the United States military has
renewed its interest and study of operational art. General
Charles Donnelly noted that operational art has been a
vital part of warfare "since the beginning of military
history," but, in his opinion it wasn't well understood.[34]
FM 100-5, Operations, says that operational art is the
"employment of military forces to attain strategic goals in

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a theater of war or operations . . . ."[35] In the course
of designing a campaign, an operational commander first
determines the military condition which will produce the
desired strategic goal in the theater, then decides the
sequence of actions necessary to achieve the military
condition, and finally resources the sequence of actions.
As the operational commander focuses on long range
objectives for the campaign, he "views tactical outcomes
and task accomplishments from the perspective of how they
contribute to the next series of operations."[36]

I believe the effect or the aim of an operation rather
than the size of forces or the area of operations involved
determines if an action is "operational" in nature. The
operational commander directs or influences those actions
necessary to execute his operational plan. In the
following examples, the actions of relatively small forces
had operational impacts upon the strategic goals set for
the two campaigns. Both commanders used irregular forces
in the course of designing their operations. If we agree
that irregular forces helped Crook and MacArthur attain the
strategic goals established for their respective theaters,
then the actions of these groups can be considered
operational.

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GENERAL GEORGE CROOK AND THE APACHE CAMPAIGN
1882-1886

> The officer who used Indian auxiliaries to the
> greatest effect was George Crook. . . . Chiricahua
> warriors in Crook's service matched the skills of
> their quarry and knew how they thought, where they
> were likely to be, and what they could be expected
> to do.[37]

In September 1882, General George Crook took command

of the Department of Arizona, a theater of operations in

the Division of the Pacific.[38] His mission (end) was to

establish order and to control the Indians in the Arizona

and New Mexico Territories.[39] The way Crook proposed to

accomplish his objective was through a series of campaigns

to return the Apaches to their reservation and then control

them once they were there. The means he had been given

were meager, about two regiments of cavalry, but through

extensive use of Apache Indian Scouts, he was able to

reduce the risk and restore order in the theater.

During the early 1870s, the Army forced most Apache

tribes, including the Chiricahuas, to accept government

reservations. Almost as soon as they were settled on the

reservations, disaffection, suspicion, and unrest served to

undermine the Interior Department's program to make the

Apaches self—sufficient. Dishonest Indian agents and

contractors encouraged the natural Apache proclivity to

raid ranches, settlements, and other tribes. The peace and

prosperity hoped for by well-intentioned social reformers

in Washington didn't happen in the desert Southwest.

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General William T. Sherman, General-in-Chief of the US Army, warned that blatant mismanagement and Congressional insensitivity encouraged open opposition by the Indians.[40] Starving Indians could not understand bureaucratic bumbling.

After a succession of Apache raids in Mexico and the United States stirred international tensions, the Army was ordered to consolidate all the Apache tribes at the San Carlos Reservation, on the dry wastelands of the Upper Gila River. The US government believed controlling one large reservation would be easier than administering several smaller ones. By June 1876, most Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico had been moved to the San Carlos Reservation.[41] Four hundred Chiricahua Apaches, though, under their leader Geronimo, faded into the Sierra Madre mountains in Mexico and did not report to the reservation. Although the mountains were rugged, at least the Apaches could eat and live in traditional tribal ways.[42] Chiricahua raids and border incidents forced the US Army to act and in 1877 elements of the Sixth and Ninth Cavalry and some Apache Scouts moved Geronimo and the Chiricahuas onto the San Carlos Reservation. The settlement was temporary, though, and in 1881 Geronimo and hundreds of sympathetic followers left the Reservation for the Sierra Madre sanctuary.

In September 1882, after a string of Apache incidents on both sides of the border, General Crook began his campaign to bring the reservation Apaches under control,

protect the lives and property of white settlers in the Territories, and subjugate the hostile Indians living in the Sierra Madres.[43] When Crook and his staff arrived, one of his officers observed that ten years of "incompetence and rascality had done their worst" to foster Apache acceptance of US Indian policies and had destroyed the Apaches as a people.[44]

As part of the process of bringing peace to the New Mexico and Arizona Territories, General Crook replaced the corrupt civilian Indian agent at San Carlos with two young Army officers. These officers recruited scout companies from among the reservation Indians to serve as irregular augmentees to the US Army. More importantly, they also set up a network of "Confidential Indians," informants to feed them intelligence, warn of impending trouble, and preempt hostile actions.[45] Crook and his officers knew that the reservation Indians were somehow able to keep contact with those who had escaped. These informants kept Crook's staff advised of Apache attitudes and intentions--they enabled him to probe the Apache leaders' heads.

General Crook was very adamant that his subordinates understand and exploit the cultural and social habits of the tribes and subdivisions within the tribes. He made it a point to study the Indians intensely so that as his aide recalled, "he knew the Indian better that the Indian did."[46] Crook felt that if the Army cooperated with friendly Apaches to develop an intelligence structure, it

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would give him an edge and cultivate a relationship which would separate the belligerents from their support.[47] Crook's policies were radically different because they never intended to defeat Geronimo in battle. To the contrary, he demonstrated that by turning Apache against Apache and using intelligence from the informants and Apache Scouts he could penetrate Geronimo's strongholds and preempt Chiricahua raids. During Crook's six years in the Arizona and New Mexico Territories he fought few major battles, but pursued his opponents relentlessly and made extensive use of irregular Apache forces to gain Indian guerrilla warfare skills and exploit the psychological impact of Indians against Indians. Geronimo surrendered his band for the last time in September 1886 to Crook's successor, after recognizing that the Sierra Madre mountains no longer afforded him a sanctuary.[48] Crook's alternative approach to Indian fighting was the key to solving the Apache problems in the Southwest. As historian Robert Utley noted, "These techniques broke down the unity. of the bands, fostered factions sympathetic to Crook's aims, and gave military authorities warning of impending trouble."[49]

In the course of conducting an Ends-Ways-Means analysis (or the equivalent planning tool used in the 1880s) for his theater, General Crook surely must have realized he faced a daunting problem. Establishing peace was an attainable goal, but it did not appear that he had

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been given sufficient means. Two regiments of cavalry were
simply not enough soldiers to establish and maintain the
peace. The disparity between the desired end and available
means constituted Crook's risk. If Crook wished to
accomplish his objective, then he had to make use of other
means to reduce the amount of risk he was taking (See Fig
3). He reduced his risk to an acceptable level by using
Chiricahua Scouts to provide the intelligence he needed to
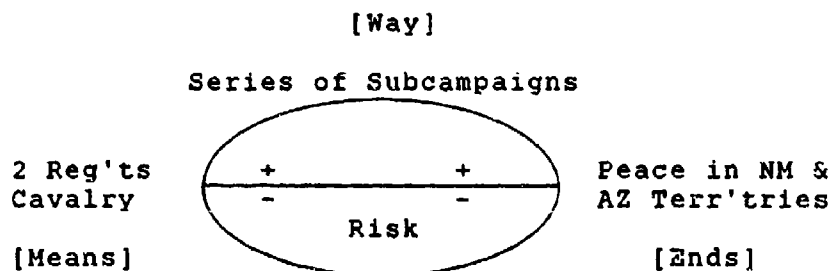seize and retain the initiative during his operations.

[Way]

Series of Subcampaigns

2 Reg'ts   +   +   Peace in NM &
Cavalry   -   -   AZ Terr'tries
                    Risk
[Means]   [Ends]

Figure 3.

General Crook's meager forces were outgunned and
vastly outnumbered by the Chiricahuas. Crook had.to
outthink his opponents or risk destruction of his force. As
Schneider notes in Theoretical Paper #3, Crook had to use
operational methods to offset his shortfall in combat
power.[50] Apache Scouts provided Crook the operational
intelligence he needed to find the renegade's sanctuaries
and to preempt their offensive and defensive actions. They
enabled Crook to seize and maintain the initiative during
his campaign to subdue the renegade tribes. The

information they collected helped General Crook sequence his actions to achieve a strategic end--irregular forces had an operational impact on this campaign.

The next operation we will examine is the prelude to General Douglas MacArthur's campaign to liberate the Philippines in 1943. The events prior to the landings at Leyte Gulf illustrate how a modern operational commander orchestrated indigenous forces to gain the operational level intelligence he needed for a successful campaign.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MacARTHUR
and
THE LIBERATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

As part of his Southwest Pacific campaign, General Douglas MacArthur had an intermediary objective of liberating the Philippines. In the course of his campaign design, MacArthur determined that the primary military condition was defeat of the Japanese forces on the main islands, Leyte and Luzon (end). The sequence of events (way) necessary to establish the military condition called for the recapture of a series of islands in order to bring Allied air power to bear. MacArthur only had a finite number of Allied land, air, naval, and logistics forces available to accomplish his objective (means). He had to eliminate the risk or face culmination of his campaign prior to achieving his goal. Like Crook, MacArthur used

irregular forces to collect, analyze, and transmit the intelligence he needed in order to reduce uncertainty about the enemy and shift the operational balance in his favor.

After the fall of Corregidor former US and Filipino soldiers took to the hills around Manila and formed guerrilla organizations. On Luzon, the main Philippine Island, Colonel Charles Thorpe, a US Army officer who had evaded capture, created the Luzon Guerrilla Force. MacArthur instructed Thorpe to organize a united guerrilla operation to harass the Japanese invaders and to collect the strategic/operational intelligence necessary prior to invading the Philippines. With their cadre of American and Filipino soldiers, the Luzon Guerrilla Force competed with the most famous of the Philippine guerrilla groups, the Hukbalahaps (People's Anti-Japanese Army in native Tagalog, simply called Huks). The Huks were a coalition of prewar socialists and communists with postwar ambitions of a Maoist, peasant based revolution. Their independent stance and MacArthur's distrust of Huk postwar ambitions caused MacArthur to largely disregard the Huks and any contributions they might make.[51] Though there were instances of cooperation between the Huks and other guerrilla groups feeding information to MacArthur, those times were rare. This monograph acknowledges the existence of the Huks, but notes that their support of the campaign to liberate the Philippines was only a small fraction of that provided by the Luzon Guerrilla Force.

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One significant advantage held by the Luzon Guerrilla Force was their connections to the prewar infrastructure of the Philippines. Because the Japanese needed the prewar leadership to run the government and services after the Philippines were conquered, the irregular forces were able to gain extraordinary access to the information MacArthur needed to determine Japanese vulnerabilities. FM 34-1, Intelligence and Electronic Warfare Operations, says that such sources have the potential to discover the most guarded of enemy secrets, to include intentions, plans, decisions, leadership, and morale.[52] This is exactly what happened.

Former military, business, and political leaders agreed to serve the puppet government and in the course of their duties gathered intelligence for the Allies.[53] Through the Luzon Guerrilla Force, they sent "reams of intelligence" concerning Japanese plans, moral, social policies, troop discipline, fortifications, and leadership changes to the Allies.[54] The postwar history of the liberation of the Philippines credits the guerrillas and their sources with making "far-reaching contributions to the war effort."[55] Throughout the years between the fall of Corregidor and MacArthur's return, the guerrilla's information proved to be more objective and reliable than that provided by other sources.[56] This is a prime example of the role irregular forces can play in providing operational intelligence to the theater commander.

One key piece of information the guerrillas successfully passed to MacArthur was the Japanese General Staff's order to General Yamashita, the commanding general in the Philippines, to establish his main defenses for the islands on Leyte, rather than Luzon (where Manila is located). US signals intelligence had also intercepted this message. The irregular's confirmation of the signal intercept validated MacArthur's original campaign plan to first take Talaud, 200 miles southeast of the Philippines and then Mindanao, the southernmost major island of the Philippines, to establish air bases before invading Leyte.[57] The guerrillas' sources confirmed Yamashita's receipt of the instructions, but as the guerrilla forces observed the field commands, they noted that the General Staff's orders were being ignored. General Yamashita wanted to fight on Luzon.

After receiving this startling news, MacArthur changed the sequence of his operations, dropping the Talaud landing scheduled for 15 October and the Mindano invasion scheduled for 15 November.[58] MacArthur moved up the Leyte landing, originally scheduled for late December 1944 to October and the Allies landed almost unopposed. Afterwards, MacArthur noted that the information supplied by the Luzon Guerrilla Force was the key to the success of the Leyte landings and the final liberation of the Philippines.[59]

By the time the US Sixth Army came ashore at Leyte on 20 October 1944, the Luzon Guerrilla Force and their

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associated units on other islands had sent MacArthur's
staff enough information to build a fairly accurate picture
of the Japanese situation, their plans, training status,
leadership, readiness, discipline, and morale. General
Crosbie Saint once said that operational intelligence
should allow commanders to picture the battlefield.[40]
This is exactly what the guerrillas were able to do for
MacArthur.

General MacArthur, as the theater of war commander for
the Southwest Pacific, designed his campaign to defeat the
Japanese by liberating the key islands leading to Japan.
With limited means available, he had to minimize risk by
choosing his fights carefully (Fig 4). The operational
intelligence provided by the Philippine irregulars allowed
MacArthur to capitalize upon Japanese vulnerabilities and
compressed his campaign schedule for the Southwest Pacific.

[Ways]

Liberate Philippines

| Allied Naval,
Air, Land Forces | (+   +) | Defeat the
Japanese |

Allied Naval,   +   +   Defeat the
Air, Land Forces   --   --   Japanese
                          Risk
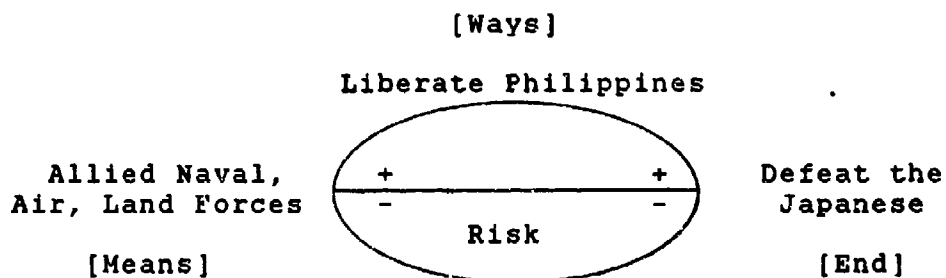[Means]   [End]

Figure 4.

In sum, both campaigns are good examples of irregular
forces providing operational intelligence to the theater
commander. Although the study of many more operations

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would permit a more in-depth study, these two campaigns
enable us to begin our analysis. The next section will
evaluate the two case studies in the context of the
Ends-Ways-Means methodology.

ANALYSIS

> The reason a brilliant sovereign and a wise general
> conquer the enemy whenever they move and their
> achievements surpass those of ordinary men is
> foreknowledge of the enemy situation. This
> foreknowledge . . . must be obtained from men who
> know the enemy's situation.[61]
>
>   Sun Tzu

The purpose of this section is to answer the original
research question in terms of the historical case studies--
specifically, how can the operational commander use
irregular forces to assist efforts to develop his
intelligence picture? With the Ends—Ways—Means model as a
framework, this section will compare the theoretical use of
irregular forces and their potential as a source of
operational intelligence.

In the course of designing a campaign, commanders
conduct an End—Ways—Means analysis.[62] Over the last
year, we have seen President Bush articulate the specific
objectives and military conditions to theater commanders
conducting operations in Panama and Iraq. Once the
strategic and operational ends were set, the operational

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commander determined the sequence of events (ways) necessary to achieve the desired objectives. Next, the commanders evaluated their mission in terms of resources at hand or available from other theaters (means) and balanced those against their requirements. The difference between ways and means constituted the basis for their risk assessments. This methodology is analogous to the "Operational Design" conducted by Generals Crook and MacArthur prior to their campaigns in Arizona and the Philippines.

As operational commanders orchestrate sequential and simultaneous actions to achieve strategic ends; operational intelligence supports those operations.[43] General Crook realized that Geronimo and the Chiricahuas retained the initiative so long as they were could maintain their relative freedom in the Sierra Madre mountains. General MacArthur, on the other hand, had to plan his invasion of Leyte based upon a worst case scenario--not knowing the true strength, disposition, or vulnerabilities of the Japanese defenders. In both examples, the operational commanders synchronized a series of actions to achieve their operational ends. One of those actions was the intentional use of irregular forces as an operational method to offset their shortfall in combat power and in the process, help reduce the potential risks.

Quantitative analysis, counting the number of soldiers, vehicles, and widgets, is a tactical intelligence

perspective. At the operational level of war, the commander must have much more qualitative or subjective information. Some of the qualitative data the operational commander needs include the status of enemy training, length of time opposing units have been in combat, traditions and past performance of opposing units and commanders, morale, health, discipline of opposing units, and the personality traits of the opposing operational commander.[44] Because this type of information requires subjective value judgements, most US intelligence sources, except those derived through human sources, cannot fulfill the requirement.[45]

Because combat is largely a clash of hostile intentions, operational intelligence must be able to see "inside the enemy commander's head." Unable to do that, a qualitative assessment of discipline, training, morale, and leadership helps the operational commander determine his opponent's intentions. In the process, he also hopes to discover enemy decisive points, disrupt enemy plans, and cloud his opponents decision-making process. Irregular forces, as employed by Generals Crook and MacArthur reported the crucial operational intelligence these operational commanders needed to conduct their successful campaigns.

A modern commander, General Crosbie Saint, while serving as commander of III Corps observed that operational intelligence allowed the commander to manipulate enemy

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actions and reactions.** This was certainly true during General Crook's Arizona campaign. Because the Apache irregulars told Crook where Geronimo was likely to be and what he intended for his next move, the Army was continuously able to wrest the initiative from the Chiricahuas and deny the renegades their Sierra Madre sanctuary.[7] General Saint went on to say that the deficiencies of current technical intelligence systems made it difficult for a modern commander to manipulate enemy actions. General MacArthur faced a similar frustration with technical systems in Philippines. Although his signals intelligence was able to intercept and decode Japanese messages, MacArthur had no way of knowing if the local commander had followed orders or the status of local commander's compliance. If the key to successful modern warfare is seizing and retaining the initiative, then the commander must be able to receive and utilize the information necessary to make good decisions, despite expected gaps in intelligence.

Clausewitz said that in war everything is uncertain and chance.** This is especially true when it comes to predicting the course another commander will take. Later in the same chapter of Book Two, Clausewitz introduces the concept of "fog;" his notion that because all information is unreliable and is hidden from full view, one must trust in talent or luck to discern the truth. While this may be true in some cases, the good operational commander

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skillfully orchestrates his various assets to minimize the amount of luck required. Operational commanders have to base their decisions upon what they know, realizing that gaps in their information will always exist. Successful commanders use their "genius" to overcome the shortcomings of their intelligence systems and reduce the risk/chance inherent in operational decisions. Alternatively, they can select different operational methods to reduce their information shortfall and also reduce risk.

General Saint also offered that the first and most important task for operational intelligence was to focus on enemy vulnerabilities.[49] Recognizing that in a high intensity scenario US forces would likely have to fight outnumbered, operational intelligence had to give him alternative methods or identify decisive vulnerabilities. The operational commander must then exploit those fleeting opportunities and strike where the enemy is weak, disrupting enemy plans and tempo and denying him the initiative. Identifying significant vulnerabilities is the special expertise of irregular forces. As Clausewitz, Mao, and Lawrence said, irregulars must avoid the opponent's main body and strike the enemy on the periphery. The successful irregular force's highly developed intelligence network helps them find and target enemy vulnerabilities.

Through their contacts with the population, irregulars can learn and then report the information the operational commander needs to build his picture of the enemy force and

its commander. Superior intelligence equates to survival
for irregular forces. Mao and Sun Tzu say that the
successful commander uses all his resources to discover the
enemy commander's intent.[70] Directing the efforts of
irregular forces away from purely tactical missions in
order to discern enemy plans, intentions, dispositions,
training, discipline and morale, takes advantage of the
irregulars' strengths and channels them away from missions
for which they are not suited.[71]

Experience shows that seeing the campaign through the
eyes of the enemy commander is the key to intelligence at
the operational level of war.[72] Certainly, General Crook
understood this when he exhorted his subordinates to
develop an indigenous intelligence structure. As historian
Dr Robert Utley noted, General Crook's irregulars gave him
the ability to think like Geronimo and thus he was able to
preempt many of the Chiricahuas' actions.[73] It is
impossible to expect that US military organizations will be
living and working among the enemy populace as the Luzon
Guerrilla force was for MacArthur in the Philippines.
Friendly, sympathetic indigenous forces from targeted
regions, therefore, offer a tremendous alternative source
for operational intelligence derived from human sources.

A recent group of news articles highlighted the
inadequacies of strategic systems trying to provide timely
and accurate operational intelligence to the commander of
Operation Desert Storm. Technical limitations of the

collection systems, bureaucratic safeguards protecting access to the information, and vigorous deception efforts by the Iraqis contributed to the intelligence deficiencies encountered. General Schwartzkopf, as the operational commander, effectively utilized human sources to fill the voids in his intelligence picture--confirming, denying, and augmenting the information he received via technical means. Irregular forces also gathered the subjective information which is invisible to satellites and airplanes.[74]

We can draw a useful analogy between General Crook's experiences during his campaign against the Chiricahua Apaches or the events leading up to General MacArthur's liberation of the Philippines and the planning and execution of Operation Desert Storm. Similar to Crook and MacArthur, the Allies needed to know where Iraqi forces were, their strength, their morale, discipline, readiness, and leadership. Although strategic and tactical technical systems collected part of the data, some of the necessary information was subjective or otherwise "invisible" to satellites or airplanes. The intelligence gaps had to be filled by human sources. Initial media reports indicate that General Schwartzkopf used irregular forces to augment, clarify, and confirm the information he received from strategic and tactical systems.[75] As the doctrine states, though, this was just as it should be. Irregular forces augment or enhance conventional forces and systems. They rarely replace them. Yet one must be cautious.

Irregular forces are not a cure-all for deficiencies in the intelligence system. There are some significant limitations in their abilities that must be addressed.

One problem with irregular forces is that by their very nature they are incompatible with the modern intelligence "system." Timeliness, range, threat, and communications are a few of the limiting factors which determine how intelligence managers task their intelligence assets. There are often times when irregular forces are simply the wrong tool for the job. Usually, their mobility is constrained, their communications are tenuous and rarely secure, and irregulars are liable to endanger themselves and their support network by their actions.

In addition, unless irregular forces are able to receive information requirements and then return the requested information to the operational commander, they have no utility. General MacArthur recognized this command and control problem in 1943 and established a submarine courier system and a radio network for the Luzon Guerrilla Force. General Crook used couriers on mules to help solve his C^2 problems during his Apache Campaign. Mao emphasized that it was absolutely critical for the operational commander to maintain control of his irregulars, otherwise they served no purpose in the attainment of operational or strategic ends.

Lastly, the modern intelligence system is intended to be a pull system, based upon commander's information

requirements. The nature of irregular forces--living and working in enemy rear--means that they cannot be immediately responsive to conventional forces' information requests. In many cases, the irregulars' primary consideration is protecting themselves and their support network. Intelligence managers have to restrict the use of irregular forces to those missions for which they are best suited, for example those not time critical or which expose the irregular forces to excess danger. This limitation covers more than the types of information (subjective assessments of morale, discipline, etc) requested, but also the time and methods required for a response. It is incumbent on the intelligence manager to ensure irregular forces are utilized properly and they are not compromised nor unnecessarily endangered because of an unsuitable mission or dangerous C^2 linkage.

Modern officers understand how the operational commander uses an Ends-Ways-Means methodology to construct his campaign. Once a combat power shortfall is identified, though, the commander must use additional operational methods to offset the deficiency or else accept additional risk. Operational intelligence is one of the tools the commander can use to reduce his risk. Both General Crook and General MacArthur conducted successful campaigns despite significant combat power shortfalls after irregular forces identified opponent's vulnerabilities.

CONCLUSION and IMPLICATIONS

At the operational level of war, the commander is responsible for integrating irregular forces into his campaign plan. Only with forethought and vision can he hope to gain the type of information which will help him discern his opponent's intentions. He must develop the ability to exploit their unique capabilities properly. Like any other tool in his "operational kitbag," though, irregulars can be misused and wasted. The problem facing most US officers today is that few of us have any experience with this type of warfare or channeling the irregulars' efforts to the benefit of the conventional campaign.

Sun Tzu, Mao, Lawrence, and Trinquier all suggested ways of integrating irregular forces into a campaign. Current doctrine also offers a methodology--Operational Design. We have to assume that Crook, MacArthur, and General Schwartzkopf all used some sort of Ends-Ways-Means analysis, analogous to Operational Design, during their campaign planning process. After determining the military conditions, the sequence of events, and the resources necessary to achieve their end states, these operational commanders had to compensate for their shortfalls in relative combat power. Without additional forces available to shift the balance in their favor, these theater commanders either had to accept high risk or utilize

alternative operational methods to compensate for the deficiencies.[7*] In all three instances, irregular forces offered them an additional operational means to reduce the uncertainty and thus the risk inherent in their campaign plans.

The implication for future commanders, as they heed Clausewitz's guidance about utilizing theory and past campaigns as a forum for practicing their art, is to consider how they might use irregular forces as an operational tool to reduce the risk in their Operational Design. As we have said, irregular forces can augment conventional campaigns in four ways--deep attack, raiding, rear area security, and operational intelligence. This monograph has shown how General Crook and MacArthur used irregulars to wrest the initiative from their opponents by using irregular forces to help them determine the opposing commander's intentions. Their operational experiences seem to validate theory as proposed by Sun Tzu, Mao, Lawrence, and Trinquier.

It was noted earlier in this paper how chance and "fog" make the conduct of war a risky proposition. The operational commander can degrade the effects of chance by getting inside the opposing commander's head and discerning his intentions--the goal of operational intelligence.

The United States has an amazing array of technical systems able to gather intelligence ("spy" as Sun Tzu would say) about an enemy, but none can provide qualitative

assessments as human sources can. The operational
commander must use all available technical systems to
gather the information he needs about his enemy in order to
make operational decisions. Irregular forces, though, have
the special ability of assessing such moral factors as
training status, discipline, readiness, morale, and staff
dynamics--factors largely invisible to prying electronics
and photography. Within definite limits, properly employed
irregular forces can give the operational commander the
intelligence he needs to discover his enemy's intentions,
reduce the uncertainty in his decision-making process, and
wrest the operational initiative from his opponent. Modern
officers need to do a better job of planning and
preparation in order to exploit this valuable source of
human intelligence.

[1]Sun Tzu, Art of War, ed. Tao Hanzhang, trans. Yuan Shibing (New York: Sterling Publishing, 1987), p 127.

[2]Greg Myre, "Resistance Was the Ally Within," The Associated Press, The Kansas City Star, 3 March 1991.

[3]Clayton Newell, "What is Operational Art?" Military Review, September 1990, p 10. Also, Sun Tzu said, "Know the enemy, know yourself; your victory will never be endangered." p 118.

[4]Frketic, Operational Intelligence and the US Army: Much Ado About Nothing or Misunderstood Excellence? A Prescription for the 1990s and Beyond (Ft Leavenworth, KS: School of Advanced Military Studies, 1989), p 35.

[5]Carl von Clausewitz, On War, ed. and trans. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), p 117.

[6]JCS Pub 1-02, Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms (Washington, DC: The Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1989), p 188.

[7]FM 100-7, The Army in Theater Operations (Preliminary Draft) (Ft Monroe, VA: US Army Training and Doctrine Command, August 1990), p 2-26.

[8]Frketic, p 34.

[9]FM 34-1, Intelligence and Electronic Warfare Operations (Washington, DC: Hq Dept of the Army, 1987), p 2-9.

[10]Julius Parker, Jr, "From the Commander," Military Intelligence, March 1987, p 2.

[11]TRADOC Pamphlet 11-9, Blueprint of the Battlefield (Ft Monroe, VA: Army Training and Doctrine Command, 1990), p 15.

[12]Richard E. Simpkin, Race to the Swift (McLean, VA: Pergamon—Brassey's International Defense Publishers, 1985), pp 201-204.

[13]Newell, p 10.

[14]FM 100-20/AFP 3-20, Military Operations in Low Intensity Conflict (Washington, DC: Headquarters Depts of the Army and the Air Force, 1990), p E-13.

[15]James J. Schneider, Theoretical Paper #3, The Theory of Operational Art (Ft Leavenworth, KS: School of Advanced Military Studies, 1988), p 19.

[16]Mao Zedong, Selected Military Writings (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), p 153.

[17]JCS Pub 1-02, p 192.

[18]Thomas Dempsey, "Desert Guerrillas: Combat Multipliers for US Central Command," Defense Analysis (April 1989), p 342.

[19]Mao pp 246-247.

[20]Mao, pp 160-161.

[21]Clausewitz, p 479.

[22]Clausewitz, p 117. "Many intelligence reports in war are contradictory; even more are false, and most are uncertain . . . In short, most intelligence is false . . . ."

[23]Clausewitz, pp 480-81.

[24]T.E. Lawrence, "The Evolution of a Revolt", reprinted from Army Quarterly and Defense Journal (October 1920) (Ft Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute, 1990), p 22.

[25]T.E. Lawrence, Seven Pillars of Wisdom (London, England: Penguin Books, 1926), p 200.

[26]Roger Trinquier, Modern Warfare (London, England: Pall Mall Press, Ltd, 1964), p 91.

[27]Mao, pp 165-167.

[28]Mao, p 166.

[29]Mao, pp 156-185.

[30]James J. Schneider, "Theoretical Implications of Operational Art," Military Review (September 1990), p 21.

[31]JCS Publication 3-0, Doctrine for Unified and Joint Operations (Test Pub) (Washington, DC: The Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1990), p xii.

[32]Bernard Brodie, "The Continuing Relevance of On War" in Carl von Clausewitz, On War, ed. and trans. by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), p 56.

[33]Clausewitz, p 170.

[34]Charles L. Donnelly, Jr., "An Air Commander's View of Operational Art," Military Review (September 1990), p 79.

[35]FM 100-5, Operations (Washington, DC: Hq Dept of the Army, 1986), p 10.

[36]FM 100-7, p 2-25.

[37]Robert M. Utley, S.L.A. Marshall Military History Lecture, given at Ft Leavenworth, KS, Dec 1985. General George Crook: His Autobiography, ed. Martin F. Schmitt (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946). It is interesting to note that when General Nelson A. Miles replaced Crook in Arizona, he decried Crook's methodology. He eventually recognized his mistake and completed the operation using Crook's means.

[38]The Apache problem also extended into the New Mexico Territory, part of the Department of Missouri. Crook was able to sort out the political details to achieve unity of command and effort.

[39]Capt John G. Bourke, An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre (New York: Scribner and Sons, 1886), p 92.

[40]Lt Britton Davis, The Truth About Geronimo (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1929), p 180. Lt Davis was assigned to the San Carlos Reservation by General Crook to organize the ' ache Scouts and Reservation police.

[41]Robert M. Utley, Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866 - 1890 (New York: Macmillan, 1973), p 358.

[42]Bourke, p 4.

[43]Utley, p 377, from George Crook, Resumé of Operations against Apache Indians, 1882 to 1886 (1886), p 10.

[44]Bourke, n ?

[45]Davis, p 39.

[46]Utley, p 179.

[47]Robert A. Wooster, ¨ù Military and the United States Indian Policy (New York: Yale University, 1988), p 148.

[48]Utley, p 392.

[49]Utley, Frontier Regulars, p 378.

[50]Schneider, <u>Theoretical Paper #3</u>, p 18.

[51]Stanley Karnow, <u>In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines</u> (New York: Random House, 1989), p 340. It should be noted, though, that once the Allied divisions were ashore and the campaign to liberate the islands began, the Huks did assist the Allies with reconnaissance and intelligence.

[52]FM 34-1, p 2-13.

[53]Edwin Price Ramsey and Stephen J. Rivele, <u>Lieutenant Ramsey's War</u> (New York: Knightsbridge Publishing, 1990), p 175.

[54]Ramsey and Rivele, p 116.

[55]M. Hamlin Cannon, <u>Leyte: The Return to the Philippines. The US Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific</u> (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1954), p 20.

[56]Cannon, p 250.

[57]C. Vann Woodward, <u>The Battle for Leyte Gulf</u> (New York: Macmillan Press, 1947), p 9.

[58]Woodward, p 11.

[59]Ramsey and Rivele, p 320.

[60]Crosbie E. Saint, "A CINC's View of Operational Art," <u>Military Review</u>, (September 1990), p 78.

[61]Sun Tzu, p 126.

[62]FM 100-5, <u>Operations</u>, Operational Design, p 10.

[63]FM 100-7, p 2-25.

[64]FM 34-1, p 3-39.

[65]FM 34-1, p 2-13.

[66]Crosbie E. Saint, "Intelligence Requirements at the Operational Level of War," <u>Military Intelligence</u> (March 1987), p 6. Hereafter cited as "Intelligence Requirements".

[67]Utley, S.L.A. Marshall Military History Lecture.

[68]Clausewitz, p 136

[69]Saint, "Intelligence Requirements," p 6.

[70]Mao Zedong, Selected Military Writings (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), p 86. Mao explains Sun Tzu's dictum "know the enemy, know yourself. . ."

[71]FM 34-1, p 2-13.

[72]FM 100-7, p 2-26.

[73]Utley, S.L.A. Marshall Military History Lecture.

[74]Robert Unger, "US Spy Agencies Fell Flat in Gulf War," and "Special Operations Filled the Vacuum," Kansas City Star, 7 April 1991. These were the most explicit, however Newsweek, Time, and US News and World Report, to name a few, all had articles covering this subject.

[75]Unger, Kansas City Star.

[76]Schneider, Theoretical Paper #3, p 18.

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